Sumatra

Java

Teyrall Rocks

G. F. De Witts Land Discouerd Anno 1628 by the Dutch

Williams Rinde

The Land of Endracht discouerd by the Dutch 1628

Drieck Hartogs Rode

Houtmans Abrolhos

Dirck Hartogs Land

Dedels land discouerd Anno 1628

The Land of Peter Nuyts discouered in the Gulden Zee Horse of Middelburgh y. 36. January Anno 1627.

The Isles of Lyons discouered by y. Dutch

Isles of St. Peter

Isles of St. Francis

Aboll Tasmans Passage

Anthony Van Diemens Land Discouerd by y. Ships Heemskerck & Zeehaen Under y. Comand of Capt. Aboll Tasman y. 24. Nouembr. Anno 1642.

Aboll Tasmans Passage

Sandwich Land

Barclays Land

Mays Land

Tasman Island

Rotterdam

Van Diemens Road

Mora

Amsterdam

Middelburgh

Piece torn away

The 3 Kings

Cape Peter Bo

The Gap

Aboll Tasm

Isles Rocks

Clippers Island

Sloa

MS. No 5222 art 12. Brit Museum

# NOTE ON AN EARLY CHART SHOWING THE TRACKS OF TASMAN'S VOYAGES IN 1642 AND 1644.

(Diagram.)

By A. Mault.

*(Read April* 9, 1894.*)*

The Government of Tasmania very liberally caused to be photo-lithographed a *fac-simile* copy which I had made of a chart showing the tracks of Tasman in his two voyages of of discovery in the years 1642 and 1644. The chart copied is in the Sloane Collection in the British Museum, and is marked on the back "Bibl. Sloan. 5222, 12. N.W. Closet 16." It is evidently a manuscript of the latter half of the 17th century, and was certainly copied by an Englishman, and probably from the original chart of Francz Jacobsz Visser, the chief pilot on board the *Heemskirk* on Tasman's first voyage, and captain and chief pilot of the *Lemmen*, Tasman's flagship in the expedition of 1644. A reduced map from the same chart is given in Major's "Early Voyages to Terra Australis," published in 1859 by the Hakluyt Society.

The Museum chart is drawn on paper in black ink, now faded. After the chart was drawn (possibly since Major's map was published) some one has added blue chalk lines, connecting Tasman's discoveries in the south of Tasmania with those he made in New Guinea on the one side, and those of Peter Nuyts on the other. In the photo-lithographs these blue lines have come out black. "Abell Tasman's passage" is marked in pricked lines. That of the 1642 voyage begins at about the longitude of Cape Leeuwin and ends at the north of the island of Ceram, the last place mentioned in Tasmans' journal of that voyage. The track of the 1644 voyage begins at the south-western coast of New Guinea, and, missing Torres Straits, goes round the Gulf of Carpentaria and the northern and western shores of Australia to Endracht Land whence he returned to Batavia. In the pricked track of the first voyage no soundings are given, in that of the second the soundings are given along the part of the passage within soundings. I therefore think this chart is a copy of that made by Francz Jacobsz during this second expedition. And there are other circumstances substantiating this opinion, notably the inscription in the middle of the chart, to which I shall again refer.

The expedition of 1644 probably started from Batavia on the 30th of January in that year, and was expected to return, if the instructions were fulfilled, in July, but as no journal of the voyage has been yet discovered this chart and a few

notes made by Burgomaster Wilson, in 1705, are the only particulars that we know about it, except the "Instructions" above mentioned, which were given to Tasman by Antonio Van Diemen, the Governor, and the Council of the Dutch East Indies, and dated at Batavia the 29th January, 1644.

With reference to the British Museum chart, of which I beg to present to the Royal Society the photo-lithographed *facsimiles*, Major says: "It bears no name or date, but is written on exactly the same kind of paper, with the same ink, and by the same hand as one by Captain Thomas Bowrey in the same volume, done at Fort S. George in 1687. It is observable that in the preface to a work by Captain Bowrey on the Malay language, he says that in 1688 he embarked at Fort S. George as a passenger for England, having been nineteen years in the East Indies continually engaged in navigation and trading in those countries, in Sumatra, Borneo, Bantam, and Java." Major goes on to say: "The twofold blunder, both as to fact and date, contained in the sentence in the middle of the chart—'This large land of New Guinea was first discovered *to joyne to y^e^ south land* by y^e^ yot *Lemmen* as by this chart Francois Jacobus, Vis. Pilot Major, Anno 1643'—is self-evidently an independent subsequent insertion, probably by Bowrey himself, and therefore by no means impugns the inference that the chart is otherwise a genuine copy."

When I saw the chart it was not bound in a volume, so I had no opportunity of comparing its paper, ink, and handwriting with those of the other chart referred to by Major, so I accept his opinion as correct that probably the copy was the handiwork of Captain Bowrey. But I cannot accept the statements that the chart bears no name or date, and that the inscription in the middle of it "is self-evidently an independent subsequent insertion." This second statement is, of course, necessary to support the first, as if the inscription is not a subsequent insertion the chart cannot be said to bear any name or date. So far from the inscription being self-evidently an independent subsequent insertion, I think the evidence all points the other way. The error in the date is no doubt the fault of Captain Bowrey, or whoever else was the copyist of the chart and translator into English of the Dutch inscriptions on the original, but I take it that the wording of it shows that it is a translation of the chief pilot's inscription on the chart he prepared and sent in as the official return to the orders of the "Instructions" with reference to discovering "whether Nova Guinea is one continent with that great southland." It is barely possible that Bowrey could have known of this instruction, which the original writer of the inscription must evidently have known to be the great object of the voyage of the *Lemmen* and her consorts.

The expedition of 1644, under the command of Tasman as commodore, consisted of the yacht *Lemmen*, with a crew of 45 sailors and 11 soldiers, under the subordinate command of skipper chief pilot Franz Jacobsz Visser ; the yacht *Zeemeuw*, with 35 sailors and six soldiers, under the command of Skipper Dirk Cornelisz Haan ; and a smaller yacht as tender, the *Brak*, with 14 sailors, under the command of Skipper Jasper Jansz Koops. The yachts were plentifully provisioned for eight months. The instructions issued to Tasman, which were discovered at Batavia, and published a little more than a hundred years ago by Dalrymple, constitute a very remarkable document, and exemplify the prescient spirit of the leaders of Dutch East Indian enterprise, for had Tasman succeeded in fulfilling them he would have anticipated by nearly 130 years Captain Cook's Australian discoveries, and by about 150 years those of Bass and Flinders.

The instructions begin with a recital of all the Dutch expeditions that had made any discoveries in connection with the great southland prior to Tasman's voyage of 1642, concerning which voyage they say simply —"It is unnecessary to relate more here, as you are perfectly acquainted with all particulars." They thus record the discoveries made by the yacht the *Duyfhen* in 1606, on the east side of what we now call the Gulf of Carpentaria ; of D'Edel's Land in 1617, on the west coast of Australia ; of Endraght Land further north in 1618-1622 ; of Arnhem's Land on the west side of the Gulf of Carpentaria in 1623 ; and of Peter Nuyt's Land on the south coast in 1627. It will be noticed that the discoveries above-named, together with the lands discovered, or seen, by Tasman in his two expeditions, are the only lands shown on the chart, and to this fact I shall refer further on.

The instructions then proceed thus:—"But to obtain a thorough knowledge of these extensive countries, the discovery whereof has been begun (in consequence of the intention of the Company and the recommendation of our masters), [there] now only remains for the future [to find out] whether Nova Guinea is one continent with that great southland, or separated by channels and islands lying between them; and also whether that New Van Diemen's Land is the same continent with these two great countries, or with one of them ; or, if separated from them, what islands may be dispersed between Nova Guinea and the unknown southland, when, after more experience and knowledge of all the said known and unknown countries, we shall be better enabled for further undertakings."

Then follow the actual instructions as to what Tasman was to try to do. He was to make his way by the islands in the Banda Sea, Teninber, Key and Aroum (marked T. Acaga on

the chart) to False Cape, which was then thought to be part of New Guinea, and is in 8 deg. south latitude. Thence he was to sail along the south coast of New Guinea till he reached 9 deg. of south latitude, where there was a large cove, which might be the opening into the South Sea. Into this he was to send the tender, the *Brak*, for two or three days to try and find a passage. If one were found he was to follow it until he reached the furthest known discovered land of the east coast in 17 deg. of south latitude (? 7 deg.), and then follow the trend of the coast eastward and southward as it might run until he reached his own discovery of the New Van Diemen's Land. Thence he was to go north-westwards to the islands of S. Peter and S. Francis lying off Peter Nuyt's Land, and try and find another passage between them and the southland eastward into the South Sea again. If this other passage were discovered he was to return by it to S. Peter and S. Francis. In any case he was to return from these islands by the south and west coasts until he reached Wilhelm's River between Endraght Land and De Witt's Land in 22 deg. south latitude, "when the known southland would be entirely circumnavigated and discovered to be the largest island of the globe."

We all know that the fulfilment of these instructions is quite feasible. The "large cove in 9 deg. south latitude and to the south-west of False Cape is the western part of Torres Straits, and the pricked line of Tasman's passage shows that he passed near to the entrance of Endeavour Strait, between the Prince of Wales Island and Cape York, by which Captain Cook entered Torres Straits in 1770. It is at least singular to note that the dotted line showing the edge of shoal water that is drawn across the cove is not also drawn across Endeavour Strait. And in the south, a course easterly from S. Peter and S. Francis would have taken Tasman past the Great Australian Bight and through Bass Straits. We shall probably never know whether Tasman did send the *Brak* into the cove or strait to report, and if he did why the passage through was not discovered. All that we know is that he did not pass the strait, but instead of doing so fulfilled the alternative course pointed out in the instructions. Before finishing with this part of my subject, I cannot forbear from again calling attention to the prescience of the Dutch authorities in having in the manner mentioned thus indicated the real position of the straits that give passage to the north and south of Australia from the Indian Ocean to the great South Sea, as they certainly knew nothing of what Torres had done. Fifty years after Dampier still held to the opinion that there was a great intermediate passage something like that shown on medieval charts as running between Little Java

and Great Java ; and a hundred and fifty years after Flinders did not think a strait or, at least, a great river from a central sea quite improbable.

The alternative instruction to be followed in the case that no passage to the eastward was found at the great cove in 9 deg. south latitude is thus given :—" But if (as we presume) the land of Nova Guinea is joined to the southland, and in consequence is one continent, you will be enabled by the S.E. trade wind to run along the north coast from 7 deg. to 22 deg. south, and thus entirely to discover this land." It is evident from this that Van Diemen and his Council at Batavia thought that Arnhem's Land was an island, and that the western part of the northern shore of Australia trended westward from the southern end of the Gulf of Carpentaria to about North-West Cape in De Witt's Land and north of Endraght Land. On arriving at Endraght Land, Tasman was—time and weather permitting—to go on southwards to Houtman's Abrolhos and try to recover the treasure lost there in 1629 by the wreck of the *Batavia*. He was also to inquire after two of the mutineers of the crew of that ship, who had been marooned instead of being executed with their companions. It seems from the chart that Tasman did not go south of Endraght Land to fulfil these latter instructions. Probably the time he had taken to get round the gulf and then follow the coast of Arnhem's Land and De Witt's Land to his turning point at about 23 deg. south had pretty well exhausted his provisions and water. I cannot help thinking that the question of victualling his ships had something to do with the non-fulfilment of the instruction as to finding a passage through Torres Straits. The voyage that the fulfilment of that instruction would have entailed would have been one of at least 13,000 miles, and mostly in unknown waters, and without much sea room if coast charts were to be made. Judging from his previous voyage, this would have taken at least 13 months, and he had only eight months' provisions.

To revert to the chart, the sailing instructions given fully bear out with regard to what Tasman was to do what I called your attention to in connection with what had been previously done, namely, that the chart refers to only Tasman's expedition—that all the information given upon the chart is given in connection with or in consequence of the instructions. As this is so, I do not see how we can resist the conclusion that the Dutch original from which it was taken and translated was the work of Franz Jacobsz, Tasman's chief pilot on both of his expeditions, and that the inscription in the middle of the chart is a translation of Jacobsz's own writing. The material information upon which the chart is constructed was all in Jacobsz's possession, and in no other person's except Tasman's. That information was

derived from three sources: First, from the records of the previous voyages referred to in the instructions; secondly, from the record of Tasman's expedition of 1642; and thirdly, from the records of the expedition of 1644. With regard to the first of these sources, the recital of the previous discoveries in Nova Guinea and the southland, and the instructions as to what was to be done in regard to connecting them could not have been understood, unless charts were furnished showing the relative positions, and from these charts the eastern side of the Gulf of Carpentaria, the north-eastern part of Arnhem's Land and De Witt's Land, Endraght Land, D'Edel's Land, Leeuwin Land, and Peter Nuyt's Land would be laid down. With regard to the second source of information, an examination of the chart will show that the original of it was made by some one who had access to not only to Tasman's chart but also to his journal of the voyage of 1642-3, as the notes made on the north coast of Guinea are similar to those contained in the journal. When all the information to be obtained from these two sources was laid down upon the chart it would be as complete as it now is with the exception of the new land discovered in the course of the voyage of 1644. And the coast line of this new land, and the pricked line of the passage made while discovering it, is all that Jacobsz refers to in his central inscription.

Another argument in favour of the inscription being a copy of Jacobsz's attestation of the chart, and not an independent subsequent insertion of Bowrey, is that the name of New Guinea is applied to the new discovered land. Very shortly after the expedition of 1644 the newly-discovered land was called New Holland, and if Bowrey had written an independent title to his copy he would probably have thus named it. Dampier, who was on this coast in 1688, and again in 1699, always calls it New Holland.

It is evident that the Dutch authorities made no secret of Tasman's discoveries on this voyage, but that charts of it were published, or at least allowed to be copied. It is probable that Bowrey was thus allowed to make the copy in the Sloane collection. Dampier had a copy with him during his expedition of 1699, when he was in command of one of the king's ships. It evidently was similar to the one before us, for he complains of Tasman's (Mr. Tasman he politely calls him) inaccuracies in latitude. He gives two latitudes from the charts he refers to, one being that of the Abrulhos, which he mentions as erroneously laid down at 27 deg. 28 min. south, and the other being the Archipelago, now called after Dampier, which he says Mr. Tasman lays down in 19 deg. 50 min. instead of 20 deg. 21 min. south. The chart before

us gives the latitudes Dampier says are wrong, so he evidently had a copy of the same original. With respect to these latitudes, I may mention that in the case of the Abrulhos Dampier is wrong, but in that of the Archipelago he is right.

I have referred to the prescience of the Dutch authorities in geographical matters as shown by the "Instructions." The instructions also illustrate their—shall I politely call it their keenness ? in trading matters. Tasman is told when "shewing the samples and goods, you and the junior merchants are carefully to remark what goods the strange nation most esteem, and to which they are most inclined ; likewise inquire what merchandise and goods they possess, particularly after gold and silver, and whether these metals are held in great esteem ; to keep them ignorant of the precious value seem not greedy after it ; if they offer to barter for your goods, seem not to covet these metals, but shew them copper, zinc, pewter, and lead as if these were of more value to us. If you find them inclined to trade, keep the goods which they seem most greedy after at so high a value that none may be sold or bartered without great profit." And so on.

To return to the instructions : If Tasman had fulfilled them and sailed round Australia and also round Tasmania, what would have been the result ? Would Australian history have taken another course ? I do not think so. The Dutch are a trading people rather than a colonising one. These expeditions of Tasman were solely for the purpose of opening new markets, and as they did not have that effect, on account of the low condition of the people, both in regard to numbers and attainments in the countries of the Australian continent and islands, they had no other effect. In due time the English entered into possession, and it is interesting to note how in the early days of their colonisation the claims of the Dutch were evidently admitted to the west or New Holland side of the continent, by limitations in the commissions of the Governors of New South Wales.